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It is difficult without further data to compare the energy expended by these natives with the work done by different classes in this country. These Bemba are great walkers and can cover distances which surprise the white man new to the country. They are also trained from the earliest youth to carry heavy loads. Men employed as carriers will walk an average of 15 to 20 miles with 50 lb. loads on their heads daily for a fortnight or so, and women commonly go two- or three-day journeys with a 50 lb. load and a two-year-old baby in addition on their backs. On the other hand, the people do not often do more than a five-hour day in their gardens, the heaviest work being reckoned as hoeing and felling trees (cf. Chap. XVIII). The women probably expend more energy, since they thresh and grind corn on their return from their gardens. The Bemba will dance for an hour or two, but do not seem to be able to keep going for a whole afternoon and evening with the energy of the swamp-dwelling Bisa who live on fish. They seemed to me to work in sudden spurts and then to collapse into complete inactivity, were prostrated by the cold of a June or July dawn, and allowed the least interruption to put them off their work (cf. the calendars given in Chap. X; but in all these cases it is difficult to distinguish physiological from psychological factors (cf. Chap. XIX 'The Will to Work'.

After this preliminary descriptive account of the Bemba environment and foodstuffs, we must turn to the more directly anthropological aspect and consider the eating customs, prejudices, and ideas of these people, as these determine their use of different foods.

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consumption of meals has to be fitted. Among primitive peoples, these facts stand out more clearly perhaps than in our own.

To the Bemba the meal is, in a sense, the climax of the day. Cooking is a long and tedious process, as will be seen (Chap. V). The whole series of activities involved in fetching fuel, drawing water, preparing flour and collecting relish must be begun afresh each day, and can be reckoned to take at least 3 hours out of that day. But the time and nature of the meal is fixed by the type of agricultural work in hand.[1] This fact accounts for two of the chief characteristics of Bemba eating custom: the concentration on a single daily meal, and the irregularity of that meal. Although the Bemba may take some snack in the early morning such as cold *ubwali* left over from the night before, or some sweet potatoes or ground-nuts, it is quite impossible for the women to prepare a dish of porridge and relish more than once a day unless they are free from other work. Men and women are accustomed to go to their gardens in the early morning to do the bulk of their work on what we habitually describe as 'an empty stomach'. They return to the village at about noon, when the whole community waits for the evening meal. This habit of eating late in the day seems to have become fixed. Natives working in European employment tend to keep to it. Loaded carriers seem to prefer to walk their daily fifteen miles or so before eating, and labourers on European farms usually do the morning shift, from 6 a.m. to noon, without a 'breakfast'. In at least one Mission school, where the young native teachers were offered food before morning classes, they refused, saying they would not be able to work properly if they ate so early in the day. It is difficult to know whether such preferences are due entirely to habit, or whether the type of meal eaten by the Bemba actually takes a long time to digest. It is interesting to note that the compound managers of the copper mines at the Roan Antelope and Mufulira considered that the natives worked better if they had eaten a breakfast before going on shift, and made this practice compulsory, but the meal was not the heavy porridge in this case, but cocoa and white bread.

This concentration on a single meal is a habit to which the children are only accustomed gradually. Bemba infants, as we saw, are suckled whenever they wish, and in early childhood they eat all day long if possible. Natives recognize that small children

[1] Cf. pp. 73, 104 and Chap. XVIII.

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who can afford to use European soap[1] delight to do so, and laundry work, in particular ironing, is considered a fashionable employment and one that is a mark of wealth and status. As such, it is chiefly in the hands of the men, many of whom learn to iron in domestic service. The husbands as the wage-earners are in any case considered sole owners of both their own and their wives' clothes,[2] and when the young man can acquire a bit of soap he likes to wash and iron in public outside his hut, surrounded by an admiring crowd of small boys. Thus the washing of clothes is women's work in the old-fashioned villages, but a male occupation under more modern conditions.

Women care for their children devotedly, but rarely give up any time to them exclusively. Babies are washed with warm water and massaged each morning and fed with gruel twice a day (cf. p. 69), but otherwise they are slung on their mothers' backs wherever they go—to work or to a beer-drink—but are not definitely 'amused' for any period of time or taken for walks. Small sisters do most of the work of supervising the younger children, and thus relieve the mothers.

Preparation of Meals.

If the housework proper, as we have described it, is not a very heavy drain on a woman's time, the preparation of meals and all the associated activities are far longer and more complicated than in our society. Wood for the fire has to be collected daily, or every two days, and this is woman's work. A man fetches wood for his chief, or for a European when required to. For his wife he will only cut down a suitable tree stem on the way back from gardening, and leave it for her to pick up on her return. She usually carries a bundle of dried wood six to eight feet long on her head. When a village is newly built dry firewood is plentiful near home, but in two or three years' time the supply is almost exhausted and the phrase 'she has gone for firewood' (*Aya ku nkuni*) may mean an expedition of an hour or so. On the copper belt the problem has already become acute and well-paid Africans employ servants to gather their wood, or try to buy faggots in the native market —one of the causes of the great increase in the cost of living in urban areas.

[1] This practically only occurs in the neighbourhood of a white store.

[2] He wears her clothes whenever he likes, and I have seen men strip their wives as a dramatic gesture in a quarrel threatening to lead to divorce.

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Water must also be fetched from the stream morning and evening (*ukutapa menshi*). A good housewife always has one or two *inongo* full of water standing to cool in her hut, and has warm water ready in the early morning for her husband to wash in, and for the baby's bath. No man ever draws for himself under village conditions, and the fetching of water is reckoned one of the essential duties of a wife.[1] The provision of drinking water for her husband is equally a woman's duty, and at a chief's court where old-fashioned ceremony is still observed, his wives kneel to offer him water in a gourd.

Besides collecting wood and water the woman has to provide relish, and this takes up much of her time at certain seasons of the year. During the rainy months regular expeditions are made daily to look for mushrooms. Women and girls go out with carrying baskets and line up across the bush, each picking what she finds. Such an expedition might take two or three hours. Wild spinaches have also to be looked for, and in the hot weather the girls are sent to gather *icikanda* orchids which grow in certain spots known to the natives, or the different wild fruits. Even when garden vegetables are available it may be necessary to walk two or three miles to a distant field to pick them. This is specially so when the gourds and pumpkins ripen, and it is reckoned that every other day the housewife must go out to her gardens to pick them (*ukusaba*) as they reach their prime. All these accessory activities have somehow to be fitted into the day besides the regular gardening and cooking.

The main processes of porridge making and cooking relish are themselves lengthy. The average time taken by seven women to thresh, winnow, and grind flour was 7·4 minutes a pound, and since about six pounds would be used daily by an ordinary family the time taken would be about three-quarters of an hour.[2] These women were, however, working uninterruptedly and knew they were being timed. An hour would be a more likely time under normal conditions. Different relishes take half to three-quarters

[1] A middle-aged widower and widow were discussing the possibility of marriage prosaically together. The would-be bridegroom said, 'Are you the kind of woman who always has hot water ready for her husband in the morning, and never grumbles when he asks for more?' The prospective bride answered, 'Yes, that is what I do. But are you the kind of man who gives his wife a new cloth occasionally and doesn't spend his money all on himself?'

[2] For note [2] see next page.

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of an hour to prepare,[1] and if vegetables are cooked with ground-nut sauce another three-quarters of an hour must be added, since the process described on pp. 91–3 is a lengthy one.

In all, then, two and a half hours would not be too high an estimate for the preparation of the evening meal, making the total three hours to allow for fetching wood and water.

Thus cooking and all its accessory activities form much the heaviest part of the domestic routine. They add two or three hours on to the day's agricultural work. Even under the old economic conditions this must have led to difficulties at the seasons when the women's gardening activities are particularly heavy, for instance, at harvest time in May or June or during August and September when the cut branches have to be piled for firing and at the same time relish is short and wild plants have to be hunted for. At present with the proportion of men absent the housewife is of course responsible for even more agricultural work and does some of the hoeing, for instance, that her husband would have undertaken. In these circumstances she seems to be definitely overworked at some months of the year—or rather she has to scamp either her gardening or her cooking. For this reason families which have not got young girls to help scour the bush for relish go short of food when the agricultural day has been heavy. An unexpected job like defending the crops against locusts throws out the routine of the day, or if beer is being brewed, there is little time for other work.

Thus here, as in industrial communities, there is the problem of the housewife who is too tired to cook. From the records analysed in pp. 178–83 it will be seen that during the month of

[1] *Seven Women timed in Kampamba Village (time in minutes)*

	Flour in lb.	*Threshing*	*Winnowing*	*Grinding*	*Total*	*Time per lb.*
1	4¾	12	14	35	61	12·8
2	7¼	10	13	30	53	7·4
3	11¼	14	15	55	84	7·5
4	9¼	10	15	42	67	7·2
5	12	8	12	45	65	5·4
6	12¼	10	16	71	97	7·9
7	6	11	16	56	83	13·8

Average per lb.: 7·4 minutes

[1] Leaving out of account the dried legumes which have to be left to stew from four to six hours.

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September (1933) two out of four women were too tired to cook properly on three days out of twenty and one on four days. Most of the housewives in the village failed to cook on one day. In this case there was the apparently extraordinary situation of women with granaries full of food failing to prepare their families a proper meal. In this particular case four housewives, all elderly women, whom I observed particularly, seemed to succumb, apparently quite unnecessarily, to a kind of lethargy. Whether this was from insufficient food, too hard work the day previous, or an absence of relish to cook with their porridge I do not know, but these women sat still most of the morning talking or doing odd jobs in a desultory kind of way. In the evening they still had not started to grind. I asked, 'Why aren't you cooking?' They said with a shrug, 'There is no relish.' 'Why didn't you go and fetch some?' 'Hunger, Madam! Our strength has given out.' (*Nsala, Mukwai! Maka yapwa!*) They were, in fact, sitting hungry with millet in their granaries and relish to be found in the bush. This is the kind of situation that puzzles the European, who feels certain that with a little more effort the native woman could use her resources to better effect. As a matter of fact, her catering usually becomes less intelligent when she is hungry or exhausted, rather than more so. Necessity, in fact, is not the mother of invention where a shortage of food is concerned, and I have several times seen Bemba react to similar domestic difficulties with the same kind of coma of resignation, when it seemed to me, at any rate, that a little extra push of energy would have solved the problem. The explanation of such incidents is probably partly physiological, and partly also the fact, already stressed, that a people accustomed from infancy to an irregular diet do not feel sufficiently indignant or surprised at missing a proper meal to resist such an event energetically.

Such a break-down of the working arrangements of a Bemba family are rare, but it is a fact that the combination of domestic work with gardening and looking for relish is difficult at certain seasons of the year, and that the food-supply of different households tends to vary with the amount of labour available.

Education in Housecraft.

I never heard a small girl given definite instruction in any branch of housecraft. Children sit endlessly watching the different

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Calendar of Events.

The weather during the month of observation must first be described, since this naturally affected the food available and the energy of the villagers. It was typical of September in this part of the world, a month of change between the end of the cold season and the beginning of the hot season. In the first week driving winds blew and the sky was often cloudy and sometimes grey. On one day the men declared it too cold to go off to their tree-cutting, and on another the women waited to grind till late in the morning because, they said, their hands were cold and slipped on the stone. The dead leaves had already fallen, and the forest turned crimson with the new young growth. It became hotter and the people more languid. Children sat about in the shade at noon and seemed too tired to run or to play violent games. There is a curious air of suspension about a native village in the hot weather. Women sit inside their hut doors and talk interminably in low murmurs, and the young girls lounge in groups of four and five in the shade and throw round polished seeds up in the air and catch them on the backs of their knuckles, a game which they play by fits and starts in a desultory way. One asked me to talk to her 'because of the boredom that is in a village when the weather is hot'.[1] By the 18th hot winds had begun to spring up, and on the 26th the first shower of thunder-rain fell. The wet weather set in in earnest in November. These notes on the climatic changes of this month should be considered in relation to the work done by the villagers during this time (cf. Chap. XVIII). I believe the slackening off of labour in this month is not only caused by uncertainty as to the coming of the rains, but also lack of energy due to the sultry heat.

Details of the activities of the people are set out below. This calendar is intended to give an impression of the work of the community as a whole, and any events such as a beer-drink or the killing of a buck, which affected the food-supply of the village.[2] Some of the notes, particularly those on the work done by the men, are unnecessarily full for a study of the food-supply proper, but they are included here in order to give some idea of the irregular

[1] *Citendwa ca muno mushi pa lusuba.*

[2] From 13 September to 1 October notes on the work of each member of the village were taken. Before this time, general observations only.

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●461 rhythm of work in a Bemba village, and to provide material for the discussion on the people's use of time (vide Chap. XVIII).

September 1st, 1933. Two gourds of beer ready, one drunk by old men, one by young men. A new baby born. Women gather from other villages to congratulate, and spend two or three days in the village. Women's garden work postponed during this time.

2nd. Old men go out to clear the bush. Young men sit at home finishing the sour dregs of the beer. More visits of neighbouring women to see the new baby. Few women go out to do garden work.

3rd (Sunday). Young men and women go to a church service conducted in a neighbouring village by a visiting Mission doctor (Scotch Mission). No garden work.

4th. Visit of the Mission doctor to Kasaka. Protestants and Catholics both attend the services. No garden work.

5th. Old men cut trees. Young men sit at home and shape axe-handles. Some women working again.

6th. Old and young men working by 6.30 a.m. and hard at it till 2 p.m. Two gourds of beer divided between old and young in the evening. Women working in their gardens normally.

7th. A buck shot by observer's party. Young men go out to fetch the meat. Women grind extra flour to eat with it. Two gourds of beer also made ready and drinking begins at 2 p.m. By 4 o'clock young men swaggering around the village, ready to quarrel, which they finally do. Dancing at night. Old women hilarious, and rebuked by their daughters for charging into a rough dance on the village square. Not enough beer for the younger women. They remain sober and express disapproval of the rest. No garden work done, except by old men.

8th. Every one off to their gardens in high spirits at 8 a.m. Back at 12 a.m. Young men sit in shelter and drink beer dregs for two hours, singing Scotch Mission hymns in sol-fa. Young girls go out on a miniature fish-poisoning expedition, but catch nothing.

9th and 10th. Observers away. D10, son of D11 born. A crowd of relatives from neighbouring villages come to congratulate. No garden work said to have been done.

11th. The baby born on September 1st (daughter of a visiting relative) dies. Mourners arrive from surrounding villages. Eight young women (A6, B3, B8, B9, C3, C6, F1, F5) go to do their tribute labour for chief. All garden work postponed.

12th. Mourning party leaves with bereaved mother, accompanied by women of Kasaka wailing up the road. Young women still away

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at capital. Little garden work done by women. Men tree-cutting half the day.

13th. Heads of A, B, C, D go visiting relatives twenty-two miles away, with their wives, to mourn. Clearing bush by two men (D1, E3). Garden work done by two women (D2, E2). Meat distributed.

14th. A1, B1, C1, D1 and wives still away. One man (E3) clears bush. Meat still available. Young women still away doing tribute labour.

15th. Three men begin digging dry-weather gardens by the river (A1, C1, C3). Little boys go bird-snaring. Young women still away at the capital. Nobody to get relish. No proper meal cooked.

16th. Eight men clear bush (A1, B1, B7, C1, C4, D1, E3, F6). One away hunting. Three young men home for week-end from work at Shiwa Dandu. Young women return from doing tribute labour in the evening, greeted by shouts from the whole community. Old women all remain in village.

17th (Sunday). Great heat. Young men sit about in shelter all day, comb each other's hair, shave, and delouse each other. No relish available. Women too tired to cook.

18th. Seven men work again clearing bush (B1, C1, C4, C8, D1, E3, F6). Five women piling branches (B2, B3, C2, C3, F2).

19th. Nine men clear bush (A1, B1, C1, C4, C8, D1, E3, E5, F6). One woman hoeing (C2). Three women piling branches (B2, C7, F2). Young women go fish-poisoning and catch one fish (about 2 lb.).

20th. Six men clear bush (A1, B1, C1, E3, E5, F6). One house-building (C4).

21st. Five men clear bush (A1, B1, C1, D8, E3). Five women pile branches (B2, B3, C2, C3, D2).

22nd. Three men clear bush (B1, B7, C1). One man hoes (H1). Four young men go fishing (C8, D10, E3, F6) with three of the wives (C7, E2, F5). Three piling branches.

23rd. Five men clear bush (A1, B1, B7, C1, D1). One goes on digging a dry-weather garden (E3). Five women pile branches (A6, B2, C3, C7, E2). One hoes (E2).

24th (Sunday). Four gourds of beer divided between whole village. Sufficient for women as well as men. Beer-drinking lasts two days off and on.

25th. Two old men only able to tree-cut (A1, D1). Young men afraid to climb trees because of 'beer before the eyes'. They sit in their shelter and make baskets. B4 hunts with his own gun.

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One woman only does garden work (C3). Young boys snare birds. Remains of beer drunk.

26th. Old men work (A1, C1, D1). Young men 'too cold'. B4 still away hunting.

27th. Five men clear bush (A1, B1, C1, D1, E3, F6). One man and four women carry meat sixteen miles to Shiwa (A6, B9, D4, E3, F3). Meat orgy described on pp. 158–9.

28th. Every one (men and women) off at 6 a.m. Work till 2 p.m., declaring they are strong with meat. A little beer in the evening.

29th. Rain at night. First net-hunt possible. All men and children join in. Nothing killed. Six women pile branches.

30th. More beer. Four men clear bush (A1, B1, C1, D1). E3 digs dry-weather garden.

October 1st (Sunday). Young women whitewash houses (B9, D6, F5).

2nd. Headman provides beer for a working bee. All men join to clear bush for him and drink afterwards.

This calendar makes no attempt to give a complete record of the activities of the people, as unfortunately the data are not sufficiently full. It brings out certain interesting points, however. The first is the irregularity of the work done and the greater industry of the old as compared with the young, especially among the men.[1] By noting the chart letters of those who went to clear the bush or to pile branches each day, it will be seen that the only natives who went consecutively to work were the old men of the village, those reckoned by the Government as too feeble to pay tax. This is a point which will be referred to again (cf. Chap. XIX). This was admittedly a slack time of the year, but it will be noted that the arrival of visitors, such as relatives or the local missionaries, births and deaths in the village or neighbourhood, the absence of the young women doing tribute labour, or beer parties, disrupted the work of the village or brought it to a standstill. On no single day did every man and woman go off to work. On five days out of thirty-one beer was brewed, and on three of these occasions most of the inhabitants were incapacitated for work. I think this would be a typical situation in September, which is one of the chief beer-drinking months. On two days no porridge was cooked because of the shortage of relish and the

[1] Five old men worked 14 days out of 20; seven young men worked 7 days out of 20. This will be discussed more fully later, but it is obvious that any community in which the young and active males work exactly half as much as the old must suffer as regards its food production.

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fatigue of the old women left alone to housekeep with their daughters away. On nine days meat was eaten and a whole buck was divided on one occasion. The other fortunes and misfortunes of the kitchen affected individual households alone.

Three Families Housekeep.

To illustrate the preparation and distribution of food in detail, three matrilocal family groups have been selected for description out of the five observed. These are: A, B, and D, and the linking of the different households composing these units is indicated on the plan on p. 177 by dotted lines. The amount of food consumed by each unit is roughly shown on the tables on pp. 178–83 and it will be seen how, in each case, the size of the consuming group, the labour-supply, male and female, and differences in the social status and individual temperament of its members affect the daily intake of food.

Group A. Kasaka, the head of Group A and headman of the village, had three households under his care. He lived in his own hut with his wife NaMarya (A2). His three younger children, Kapea (A7), a girl of 14,[1] Marya (A8), aged 7, and Cileshye (A9) aged 5, came to eat, but not to sleep. Kasaka had his own dish of food, to which he called one or two of his old cronies, such as the heads of Groups B and C, joining them on their verandas in turn. His small son might have been invited to share the meal if his table manners had not disgusted his father, and so he remained eating with his mother and sisters instead. The second household of the group was that of Kampamba (A5), who was temporarily on a visit and whose husband was away at the mines. In the third house lived another daughter, Kampamba (A6), who had been married over a year. She had been given her own fire-place but not her own granary, so that her husband, Findee (F6), was still entirely dependent on his father-in-law for food. Usually a basket was sent to him at the men's shelter, but on five days out of nineteen his wife was given flour to cook for herself, or to carry out into the bush for his meal. In the fourth house lived Nakulu Marya (A3), the crippled old mother of

[1] Kapea engaged herself to be married to a young boy from a neighbouring village during my visit and demanded grain to grind for him, but the father refused, as the marriage had not received the formal consent of the bridegroom's parents. The boy was therefore merely allowed to share a dish with the other son-in-law and was not treated with the 'cooking of honour'.

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CHAPTER XVIII

LABOUR AND TIME

I HAVE now described the chief economic activities of the Bemba—agriculture, fishing, and hunting—the pleasures and anxieties connected with them, and the body of empirical knowledge which guides the people in their work. But the whole question of food production has still to be discussed from the labour point of view. Where land is as plentiful as it is in this area, the amount of ground a man can cultivate obviously depends on the labour he can command, the annual sequence of his different activities, and the whole system of economic co-operation by which garden and other work is carried out. Less obviously, but equally certainly, production also depends on the people's economic rhythm, their habits of work, and their method of reckoning time.

Here I should say at once that my observations on the use of time by native cultivattors are far from complete. It is difficult, of course, to calculate exactly the time and energy expended on any kind of work which is not subject to industrial conditions—regular hours, output, wages,, &c.—but with primitive people who have no conception of a regular working day, and who do not thus calculate by fixed time units, the task is even harder. It would require a specialist study by some one familiar with the economic calendar and methods of work of the Bemba, who was able to concentrate on this particular problem by means of records of individual activities and daily diaries. This I was never able to do for long enough in any one place. I have, however, given such material as I have, both because of the practical importance of this subject and also because it is a sphere in which anthropologists have so far done very little work. I believe my observations on the division of labour, seasonal calendar, &c., are adequate, but the records of daily activities (Appendix, Table E) were only taken in two villages, and then for very short periods.

Division of Labour.

Briefly speaking, there is no specialization of labour in this area except on a basis of sex.. Handicrafts—such as basket-making, iron-work, and pottery—are chiefly in the hands of a few individuals,

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considerable. Even the most stupid or beer-sodden rulers seemed to discuss such matters with authority. The chief always selects his own site for tree-cutting in my experience. I have seen Citimukulu and Lucembe advise women as to whether their millet was ripe enough to reap, and Nkula upbraiding some of his people on two occasions, once for making village beds on unsuitable soil, and at another time for not fencing properly. He turned to me with a look as despairing as that of any white educator, and said: 'Look at them! They are working anyhow (*cibombebombe*). Is not that what hunger does?'[1]

Of their *icalo* as a whole the chiefs also know a great deal. The messengers who go about from village to village to fetch tribute labourers, or the headmen who come on business to the capital, report on conditions. I was amazed in fact to find how much of the conversation in a chief's hut concerned the whole organization of the food-supply, the exact type of soil in such and such a place, or the methods successfully used on it. Comments and criticisms are passed freely. The chief also knows when and where the rivers are in flood, and, in an incredibly short time, how many buck any travelling European has hit or missed. Thus his position at the capital, a place where people constantly come and go, his specialized knowledge of agriculture, and his personal interest in food-production, the latter at present correlated with the whole tribute system, gives the Bemba ruler opportunity to lead and influence the agricultural activities of the whole tribe. This fact may well acquire administrative importance if any new improved system of cultivation is ever discovered for this area.

In his own gardens the chief organizes the biggest labour force that exists in the country. To clear the bush on a large scale (*ukutema pakalamba*) means making a number of gardens in the case of a leading chief.[2] When cutting on a large scale, many gardens are made. For instance, in 1933 Citimukulu made gardens as follows:

Personal *mulasa* gardens: (1 big and 1 medium)	= 3·2	acres	(approx.)
Gardens for 16 wives: (11 medium and 35 small)	= 8·5	"	"
Gardens for 4 'brides of the relics': (3 medium and 3 small)	= 2·8	"	"
Help over gardens for 4 courtiers, 1 blind singer, 2 widowed sisters: (gardens unmeasured)[3]	= 3·5	"	"
	18	"	"

[1] *Moneni apa! Balebomba cibombebombe. Te nsala?*
[2] This does not happen every year (cf. p. 215).
[3] These gardens were roughly paced round the edges. A big garden means

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In 1932 Makassa made one big personal garden of about two and a half acres and medium gardens for five wives, two inherited widows from his predecessor, one widowed sister, and one deserted daughter. The amount of labour required during a nine-months' period for all the garden work of the Citimukulu plus the building of a new village has been given as 561 men and 329 women.[1] Mukuikile—a smaller chief—required 275 men-days for the cutting of his gardens, and 210 women-days for piling the branches.

In general, the *ubwalasa* labourers are supervised by the chief himself or one of his head officials, and the organization of this irregular labour force is one of the most important tasks he has to undertake, since on it his tribal supply of food depends.

Even though the *ubwalasa* labourers only work for the inside of a week, there are often as many as twenty or thirty men or women in the gardening team, drawn from different villages all over the *icalo*, so that the chief has not only the power to organize his own garden work but definite possibilities of instruction.

Work and Time Sequence.

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From the main calendar of seasonal activities shown above, it will be seen that the season for tree-cutting, the hardest work of the men, is the cold time of the year, but this lopping of the branches can really be done at any time during the months from April until September when the forest fires which break out in hot weather might threaten to destroy the piled wood. The beginning of tree-cutting usually necessitates the movement of the whole family out into the bush, and thus makes a real break in the rhythm of daily life. During these cold weather months there are few other important food-producing activities for the men. For those who live on rivers, fishing on the flats begins in April and low-water fishing in July. The best months for net-hunting are hot weather at the end of this period. Basket-making and thatching must be done while the grass and reeds are still tall enough,

one more or less round, about 400 paces round; a medium one about 200 paces; a small one only 40 or so. Their area may therefore be calculated as follows:

'Big' gardens—2½ acres approx.
'Medium' gardens—7/10ths of an acre approx.
'Small' gardens—1/40th of an acre approx.

N.B. 4–10 acres of forest is needed according to the growth of trees and type of forest for one acre of garden. These approximations were made for me by Mrs. Gore-Browne.

[1] Cf. p. 238.

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larly four or five times a night in order to shift their positions on their hard wood beds.

Thus it can be said that the Bemba method of reckoning time allows them to fix dates to the nearest year, season, month, or nowadays week, but it does not subdivide day and night into equal intervals, and in fact most of their activities do not need to be co-ordinated more closely than to the nearest day or half day. The conception of the equal time interval does not seem to occur to them in the ordinary course of life. Their days and nights are not in fact of equal length as ours are, with our independence of seasonal changes in light, dark, and temperature, and our regular routine of work. Bemba rise at 5 a.m. in the hot weather, but come reluctantly from their huts at 8 or even later in the cold season, and their working day is fixed accordingly. Meals are timed to the nearest two hours rather than to the minute, and night begins at any time from 8 o'clock on a chilly dark evening to midnight or later when the moon is full, and the people are tempted to stay out in the open. Nor does the work-time interval which dominates our activities and calculations exist for them. We, after all, can hardly conceive of time except in terms of energy expenditure and, to many of us, a fixed money value as well. But the Bemba in his unspecialized society does different tasks daily and a different amount of work each day. The diary of men's and women's activities given in Table E shows that in Kampamba the men were employed on five quite separate occupations (hoeing, hunting, chasing locusts, fencing, carrying, &c.) in the course of ten days, and at Kasaka, though the main work was branch lopping, yet various ritual observances, visits from friends or Europeans, interrupted the daily routine constantly. Domestic needs tie the women to certain daily tasks in this, as in other communities, but even then their garden work varies greatly from day to day. The working hours also change in what seems to us a most erratic manner. In fact I do not think the people ever conceive of such periods as the month, week, or day in relation to regular work at all. The major agricultural tasks have to coincide with certain seasons and moons, and that is all. A man says he has to cut trees between such-and-such climatic changes, but not that he has so many hours of work to get through, and daily work, which has become from habit almost a physiological necessity to many Europeans, only occurs at certain times of the year. The whole bodily rhythm

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of the Bemba differs completely from that of a peasant in Western Europe, let alone an industrial worker. For instance at Kasaka, in a slack season, the old men worked 14 days out of 20 and the young men 7; while at Kampamba in a busier season, the men of all ages worked on an average 8 out of 9 working days. The average working day in the first instance was 2½ hours for men and 2 hours gardening plus 4 hours domestic work for the women, but the figures varied from 0 to 6 hours a day. In the second case the average was 4 hours for the men and 6 for the women, and the figures showed the same daily variation.

All these observations as to the African's conception and use of time are important in studying the relationship of black and white. There is probably no aspect of life in which the habits of both differ so fundamentally, and in both cases these habits are rooted in childhood training and a particular economic system. The Bemba have a 'sense of time' contrary to the usual European view, and it is fitted to guide them in the organization of their own activities, but it is ill-adapted to new routines and new economic values. A study of village life, therefore, explains many of the reactions of the Bemba to regular European work, particularly that on the mines. It surely also accounts for their desertions in the early days of employment, the utter exhaustion sometimes seen in new recruits at the end of a day's work, and the sudden desire of even the fully acclimatized native to return to his village and 'rest'—perhaps also the complete inactivity of many of such men returned to their villages on holiday. From the point of view of food production, too, it may account for the apparent inability of most natives to plan their work to obtain the maximum results, to calculate the labour required for any particular job, and lastly, to answer coherently the questions of an inquiring European as to 'how long' it takes to make a garden or build a fence.

Time taken on Particular Tasks.

I have sometimes been asked to estimate the time a Bemba man should spend each year in order to complete his necessary garden work. If this question could be answered precisely, the information would be extremely useful to those dealing with administrative problems such as the recruiting of native labour, the control of labour emigration, the optimum length of time natives should be encouraged to serve at the mines inside or outside the territory,

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and the means by which they should be enabled to come and go between mine and home. Unfortunately, however, the necessary figures are particularly difficult to give. The Bemba has, as has been seen, no 'normal working day' and no fixed size of garden which he aims to cut. In his particular working conditions there is a wide variation between the minimum time required for each task by a man working continuously at it, and the average time taken by natives working in their usual intermittent way and responsible for a number of different occupations—gardening, fishing, house-building, &c. The former figure could be estimated accurately I presume under experimental conditions: the latter could only be determined by a series of records of individuals' agricultural achievements in different villages all over the country during a period of at least a year. Notes on the time taken to cut a garden, fence, or hoe it by selected groups of natives, e.g. old, middle-aged, or young, polygamous, or monogamous, &c.—if kept by administrative officers or missionaries, would provide data for calculating the time usually spent on different agricultural tasks. Such figures I was not able to collect during the time I had available.

Another difficulty is to decide whether the time figures required are those giving the minimum amount of male labour necessary to use the land to the best advantage, or alternatively, that sufficient to produce the minimum requirements of each domestic group. The former figures could presumably be calculated at an agricultural research station, while the latter would have to be based on some kind of assessment of each family's nutritional needs. I have neither set of data at my disposal but give my own rough estimates of the average amount of male labour required for Bemba cultivation as a stimulus to further investigations. My figures are based on answers given by a number of informants to questions as to the time taken over particular tasks, together with personal observations taken in a few villages where I stayed long enough to watch the completion of different stages of garden work.

The most important tasks of the Bemba men are tree-cutting, fencing, and hoeing. Elderly natives estimate that they would take about one month working continuously to clear a good-sized garden. A polygamist would need about seven weeks, as he would make a big garden for his first wife and a smaller one for the second. But the younger native would probably not work so continuously, and would be more likely to spend six weeks making one garden.

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461 512 Men usually ask for three months' leave to 'make a garden', but most of them treat their time in the village as a holiday as well as a gardening time. Thus it can be reckoned that for this, the most essential activity, the Bemba requires as a minimum four weeks' work, but usually takes two or three months a year interspersing this task with others.

Sowing millet is not a laborious process and a big garden can be planted in a day or two. Fencing, in those parts of the country where it is necessary, natives describe with rather a rare unanimity as the work of one month, thus making a minimum of two to three months' agricultural labour which can be done by men only.

Hoeing falls into a different category, both because this is a task that men and women do jointly, and also because there is every degree of individual variation in the amount done. To get good results a substantial amount of hoeing should be done, according to native theory, but to get some food out of the ground, surface hoeing only would be adequate (cf. pp. 303, 390). The main hoeing consists of the digging up of the old burnt gardens (*ifitimeme*), but besides this, a man in a new village has to make new garden beds the first year, and should re-hoe the old completely every two or three years. He should weed Kaffir corn, burn the old legume stalks on the *mputa*, &c., for each of which tasks I have added one week. If labour is short or the people hungry, this last work is not done. I should estimate that the minimum of time a man should spend on hoeing and weeding would be one month, but to use the soil to the best advantage, two or three would be necessary, doing a little every day (cf. p. 308).

Other activities such as fishing, hunting, or handicrafts are sporadic, and probably the ordinary Bemba spends about a month a year all told on such work. To build a house would take a fortnight for a man working alone, but houses will last for three or four years.

221 461 512 To estimate the amount of male labour required annually, the reader should turn to the table given on p. 315. He will realize that each Bemba has three or four gardens to deal with annually, as well as his village beds. Thus the work can probably be listed as follows:

(*a*) Garden of present year to be cut = 4 weeks—during May-September.
Garden of present year to be fenced = 4 weeks—during February-March.

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(*b*) Garden of last year to be dug up for ground-nuts or other crop = 2 weeks—during August–October. 221 461

(*c*) Garden of three years ago to be burnt and prepared for third-year millet = 1 week—during August–October. 512

(*d*) Garden of four years ago to be dug into mounds for beans or other crops = 2 weeks—during October–January.

Total = 13 weeks as a bare minimum, of which 8 can only be done by male labour.

In the village beds the labour expended can be roughly estimated as follows:

(*e*) Digging of new village beds = 2 weeks—usually during December–February.

(*f*) Complete rehoeing of old beds = 3 weeks—usually during December–February.

Or light hoeing of old beds = 1 week—usually during September–February.

(*g*) Burning, weeding, &c. = 1 week—usually during September–October.

Total = 4–6 weeks.

The total time spent both in the main gardens and on the village beds could thus be reckoned as a minimum period of 17–19 weeks, of which 8 weeks—4 during the dry season and 4 during the wet—can only be done by men. Probably, however, under ordinary village conditions and combining other tasks such as house-building, fishing, &c., the Bemba usually take 4–5 weeks longer to produce the same results, making a total of 5–6 months' work.

How is the Bemba to find this amount of time under modern conditions of migratory labour? He can clearly not produce the optimum results from the soil, but merely the minimum amount of food which will keep his family from destitution. 221 512

From the agricultural point of view the difficulty of the Northern Rhodesia labour situation is the length of time for which the men go to the mines and their lack of facilities for getting back to their villages. Recruiting ceased in the area in 1930, and the men mostly make their way to the mines (300–500 miles) on foot, or by bicycle. The Rand mineworker signs up for an eleven months' contract usually, with his return passage home automatically deducted from 221 512 464

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221 512 464 his wages. But the Bemba has either to pay 35*s.* for a lorry passage home or he must bicycle or walk. The first is considered a prohibitive passage, except for the better-off native, and the second is only done when a man is really sick of the town and feels he must get home—say after two or three years or even longer. He cannot reasonably return every year for the three months' garden labour which we have reckoned as necessary with the present method of cultivation. However, it can be seen from the table on p. 315 that, if a man spent two years at home, he could make millet gardens and fence them in successive years. He could then spend two years at the mines, leaving his wife to plant the third-year millet. She would thus have some millet every year if her husband had facilities for returning again in the fourth year, but this is obviously only one of the minimum solutions described above. For an improved food-supply an alternative method to tree-cutting or greater ease of transport to and from the mines are required.

The Will to Work.

461 At the opening of this book I described Bemba diet as inadequate and variable, and their methods of gardening as primitive compared to those of their neighbours. In some of the succeeding chapters I have tried to account for the shortage in their annual and daily food-supply by describing the people's difficulties in preparing and producing different foodstuffs, or in their methods of handling, distributing, and storing them. We have still to ask one final question, and its answer is to be found scattered here and there throughout the book. Put crudely, it is the query which springs naturally to the mind of most Europeans living in this area, viz. 'If the Bemba go short of food so often, why don't they work [191] a good bit harder and drink less beer?' Successive Government reports describe this tribe as 'poor agriculturists' or 'incorrigibly lazy',[1] and the traveller, gazing at ill-weeded gardens and broken-down fences, cannot resist the same type of comment. The average working day of a man has been estimated as only four hours, even though the women are undoubtedly overworked at certain seasons of the year, and I have given a good many facts to show

[1] e.g. the Government Report for Native Affairs, 1936, p. 47. 'Natives in this Province generally speaking strike one as singularly unenterprising and indeed downright lazy about the growing of foodstuffs.'

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how intermittent the garden labour actually is. Few African peoples probably work such regular hours as European peasants do, but a number have been described as gardeners first and foremost, with all their hearts in their fields. Of the Bemba nothing of the sort could be said. What makes them then unable or unwilling to garden more intensively, or to produce more food?

This whole question of incentives shows at once the extreme complexity of the nutritional problem in human society, and leads us to pass in review every aspect of food and food-production already described—the people's diet, their eating habits, their economic objectives, and the changes now taking place in their life. The simple assumption that the shorter the food-supply the more a man is willing to cultivate is obviously very short of the mark. In fact, so-called 'laziness' may be directly due to diet deficiencies, or to their more indirect effects on human appetites or the will to work. Whether the intermittent character of Bemba work is due to under-feeding or to some other physical cause such as disease or the presence of parasites it is impossible to state without further medical evidence. The Bemba dislike of regular concentrated work may be due to some racial characteristic or trait of temperament, as well as to upbringing. We do not know. Suffice it to remind ourselves that their intake of certain foodstuffs is about half that considered necessary for the mine-employees on the Rhodesian copper belt, and that the native himself recognizes the effects of the hunger season on his output of energy (cf. Chaps. II and III). My own observations also convinced me that the whole tenor of native life was less energetic when food was short, and that certain gardening work, such as hoeing, which fell during the months of shortage, was often hurriedly and carelessly done. But of the direct results of any possible diet deficiencies in this area we can at present say little more.

Indirectly, the nutritional habits of the Bemba are reflected in their customs of work to a marked degree. Their methods of feeding from the days of infancy condition their appetites and digestive processes, and shape their whole conception of what is normal and inevitable in life. The adaptability of the human organism is one of the perpetual surprises of comparative anthropology, and since the Bemba are unaccustomed to regular or similar meals, they do not feel the need of them or make a very resolute effort to get them. To have too little to eat is not a shocking situation to any of them,

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•461 and therefore not a stimulus to exert their last ounce of energy to alter an intolerable state of affairs. Living at this particular economic level, other advantages sometimes seem preferable to a sufficiency of food. For instance, the immediate disadvantage of grinding and pounding to a tired woman may seem more obvious than the ultimate weakness she knows she will feel if she goes without her evening meal (cf. pp. 104–5). In fact, paradoxically enough, it would seem as if the 'fatal resignation' commonly noted among primitive peoples could only be cured by giving them regular food! It was certainly true that the few Bemba whom I saw displaying energy and initiative in the adoption of new methods of European gardening, planting of vegetables, &c., were natives who were better off, in constant employment, or somehow removed from the feeling of insecurity which was the habit of mind of their fellows. All these observations throw light on a fact which first strikes the European as puzzling, viz. the evident absorption of the Bemba in their food problems, which they discuss so constantly and with such interest, and yet their apparent insouciance in arranging to secure better supplies. Whether or not the Bemba are lazy through physical inertia, it is certainly true that habitual insecurity robs them of continuous energy in planning their needs.

461 181 The direct cultural drives towards food production are even more complex. We have here to deal with the dominant tribal interests, the activities with which prestige is most clearly associated, and the ambitions of each individual member of the tribe. This question is important. We want to know whether the Bemba were always indifferent agriculturists, or whether their present attitude is something specific—the result of economic changes at the present [171] day. Now this group is always described as a typical warrior people, and though Bemba tribal structure is not based on military organization as is the case among the Nguni peoples of South Africa (Zulus or Swazis) and to some extent the Rhodesian neighbours of the Bemba, the Ngoni, yet it is true to say that the dominant ambition of their chiefs was apparently military conquest. To this end they strove to build up armies of followers, and collected guns and cloth and slaves. Their authority depended on military strength, as well as the people's belief in their supernatural powers. If they made big gardens, this was never their only method of getting food, and the cultivation largely served their

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military objectives. Whereas some Polynesian chiefs regularly worked in their gardens and could not hope to succeed to this position unless they were expert agriculturists and craftsmen,[1] such a conception of chieftainship would be quite fantastic to the Bemba, among whom the royal clan definitely does not learn to cut trees, the chief male occupation of the tribe.

The same trend of thought seems to have dominated the interests of the tribe as a whole. Even now, when describing the past, the people constantly dwell on the fierceness of their chiefs, their military exploits, and the booty they were able to take from other peoples. In fact, *ubukali*, which may be translated 'ferocity' or 'ruthlessness', rather than bravery, is one of the few qualities I have heard admired in famous men of the past.[2] I noticed that if I ever criticized Bemba laughingly for their inability to carve or to make baskets as well as the surrounding tribes, and asked them what they thought they excelled in, the usual reaction was a throwing back of the shoulders and the word *ubukali* uttered with great intensity, 'But we were fiercer than all the rest. We made them give us tribute.' Gouldsbury and Sheane record that the Bemba of their day used to brag that they did not know how to hoe, for their only trade was war;[3] and though it is obvious that a people could not have lived on tribute alone, the boast is significant.

This tribal ideal is reflected in the Bemba attitude to industry itself. Talking to natives of the present day it is impossible to resist the conclusion that agricultural excellence is really not a trait which is much admired. To have food and beer is considered desirable and even essential to a man of high status, but it is always thought better that this food should have been produced by the labour of some one else. I never heard a young man being praised as a good gardener. The phrase *icilumba ca bulumendo*, the pride or arrogance of youth, may be said in tones of irritation when a young man refuses to hoe, but I think it is more often uttered with a kind of grudging admiration. In middle and old age the successful cultivator is thought well of, and without working he would probably be unable to build up a 'big house'. The word *umulimi* or 'good cultivator' exists and conveys approbation. But industry seems to be thought an unexciting virtue—an advantage or even

[1] Cf. R. Firth, *Primitive Economics of the N. Zealand Maori*, 1929, p. 164.
[2] Generosity and wisdom were the others.
[3] Gouldsbury and Sheane, *The Great Plateau of N. Rhodesia*, 1904, p. 24.

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an essential in a prospective son-in-law, but not admirable in itself, or even a suitable attribute for a young man of spirit. I noticed that when I commented once on a woman who had put a whole stretch of ground under cultivation in one day, that the two young men with me shrugged their shoulders with the kind of pity we usually reserve for obsessional cases. 'Yes! poor woman. Grubbing away all day like a dog!'

This difference between the behaviour of old and young is, I think, the crux of the whole question from a practical point of view. In pre-European days there was a complete change of ambition between the youth and age. The young boy, under the system of matrilocal marriage, had no individual responsibility for gardening. He was expected to cut trees, but his main way of advance in life was to attach himself to a chief or to a man of rank and not to make larger gardens or to collect material goods. He often went on border raids or foraging expeditions. He did not expect to work in earnest until middle age, when his children were 'crying from hunger' and he had settled down. Nowadays we saw in concrete cases the immense difference between the regularity of work done by the old and young. This is partly due to the new insubordination of the boys, but partly also to a perpetuation of an old tradition. In our society youths and adolescents have, roughly speaking, the same economic ambitions throughout youth and early manhood. For most there is the same continuous incentive to make more money from year to year. Among the Bemba this was not so, any more than it was among such warrior peoples as the Masai of East Africa with their regular age-sets. Each individual was expected to be first a fighter and later a cultivator and the father of a family. In modern Africa there is often the same break between the employment of the young and the old. Many writers have pointed out that service at the mines has been substituted for the old warrior service of the young man. But there is of course this difference, that the Bemba goes away to the mines for far longer than he went to war, and that he is not able to settle down continuously in middle age. He has to pay tax until he is past working. He is not free to take his position at home as a father of three or four children and a leading citizen as he did in the old days at the end of his warrior period. Nor is there any reason for him to settle down to become an efficient cultivator.

Thus the answer to our question is, I think, definite. Before the

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coming of the white man, the warrior type was more highly valued than the good gardener in youth, and modern migratory labour has wiped out the stage in which the one would normally have passed into the other. In the absence of stock or other material possessions, the idea of accumulation never existed, nor the habit of organized trade, and with the present shortage of money-making possibilities in this area and the lack of a cash crop, the introduction of European currency did not act as a new incentive to agricultural work, rather the reverse.

Another difficulty inherent in the Bemba system of gardening is the absence of any definite units by which success can be measured or effort reckoned—a fact I have already stressed in descriptions of their methods of calculating quantities or assessing needs. The size of a Bemba garden is not fixed. The labour force of a family varies from month to month. The people are not in the habit of calculating the size of their field or its yield, the time it would take to clear the trees on it, or the amount of grain annually produced. Nor does the particular staple crop used lend itself to accurate measurement of this kind. I found that, if I asked Bemba how much ground they intended to clear, old men had some conception of their future needs, but young men more often replied: 'How much shall we cut? Oh, we shall cut until our arms ache. . . . Till our strength is exhausted. . . . Until we want to go and work for the Europeans. . . . Or until laziness seizes hold of us. Will the garden give enough to feed us? We do not know. Perhaps it will.' These statements are perhaps more casual than would have been heard in the old days—that is impossible to tell—but, in any case, it is clear that with such a system of reckoning, success in food production depends very largely on leadership and a definite compulsion to work.

It is just this leadership which, as we saw, is no longer effective. The matrilocal kinship organization with the economic group which is based on it, is one that is breaking down rapidly in contact with European conditions. The drive behind agricultural production is largely associated with beliefs in the authority of the Bemba chief, sentiments that have been inevitably weakened by contact with Europeanism. The Bemba are still willing to garden if told to, as the experience of the Government during the recent locust raids has shown. When ordered to dig four hundred mounds of cassava, most natives complied, and when the order was

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461 178 rescinded they gave up the extra effort. At present, however, the chiefs have little incentive to give such orders, and shortage of agricultural staff makes it impossible for Europeans to exert the same leadership. Whether or not it will be possible for Europeans to take the initiative in stimulating increased agricultural production it is impossible to say, but I have sometimes been impressed by the surprise of natives that any white person should be interested in their cultivation and by the question of an intelligent chief, 'Why do the Government officers ask me about the history of the Bemba and their magic, and never about our gardens and the growing of food?'

461 The effects of absentee labour on food production have been constantly referred to in this book. Its results on gardening enthusiasm are not easy to summarize. It is, however, a fact that men who go back to their villages from the mines do so to 'rest', after what is for them unusual strain, and not to work, and the common assumption of the European that every month spent at home can and should be given to making new gardens is really unwarranted. It is difficult also for a native to maintain his interest in agriculture after staying at the mines for as long a period as two or three years. When working at Luanshya Mine myself, I noticed that young men on their first visit were definitely homesick, and that old men spoke gladly of the possibility of settling down; but it was obvious that a man who had already made two or three visits of a few years each had no longer the same interest in talking of village life.

The agricultural enthusiasm of natives who stay behind in their village is an equally important factor. The native habit of working in twos or threes with relatives or age-mates is important from this point of view. It means that the youths of a village tend to go together to the mines in groups of five or six for a year or two, thus leaving their home community with only three or four old men in charge. Thus, to say that 40 or 50 per cent. of the total male Bemba are away annually from the Territory gives a misleading impression. It seems to imply that each village has half of its men present, whereas in fact some communities have plenty of male labour for a year or two while the others are so denuded of men that the remaining inhabitants tend to sink into apathy or leave the village to join a more flourishing community. Two or three energetic or enterprising natives seem to raise the whole tone of

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village activities. In the same way, the absence of most of the younger men leads to a crippling kind of depression. Any stranger arriving at a Bemba village will notice at once whether it is a thriving community in which plenty is going on, the huts well kept, and the people keen on their work. In fact, the dead appearance of villages with a large percentage of absent men is one of the most striking features of the country-side.

Thus the 'incorrigible laziness' of the Bemba is due to a whole variety of causes—their physique, history, tradition, the nature of their economic ambitions, their methods of planning their activities, and the type of virtues they admire, as well as changed social conditions over which at present they have little control. All these facts go to make the economic pattern of their daily life, and it is only by watching them at their food, in their gardens, drinking beer, or attending the chief's court that one can try to assess this people's 'will to work'.

To conclude, it is true that the foodstuffs of an African tribe are limited in certain directions by the environment in which it lives, but this work has shown in every chapter the extent to which a particular diet can be determined by purely cultural factors—the network of institutions that enable the people to produce, distribute, and consume their food, the different uses, economic and non-economic, to which edible objects are put, and the system of values that make them rate one food higher than another and work more or less hard to produce their annual supplies. These are the sociological aspects of the diet problem in Africa and other countries, and it is a study of these cultural determinants of food and feeding that can and should be included in a nutritional survey at the present time.

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Name		Sept. 15th (Wed.)	16th (Thurs.)	17th (Fri.)	18th (Sat.)	19th (Sun.)	20th (Mon.)	21st (Tues.)
Kambo	d	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Leisure	At home	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	0	In village	In village (beer-making)	Digging, 4 hours. Beer-making	Beer-making	Beer-making	No garden work	No garden work
Mando	d	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	32-mile walk (overnight)	Tree-cutting, 4 hours	"	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours
His wife	0	Digging garden, 5 hours	32-mile walk (overnight)	16-mile walk	In village	Leisure	No garden work	No garden work
Mumi	d	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Hand-work (basket)	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Leisure	In village	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	0	Beer-making	32-mile walk	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	16-mile walk	No garden work
Mukilo	d	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours
His wife	0	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	No garden work
Celestino	d	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	0	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	Digging
Cambesi	d	Work away for European	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	10-mile walk
His wife	0	In village	In village	In village	In village	Leisure	6-mile walk	10-mile walk
Mumbo	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	16-mile walk	16-mile walk (visiting)	Work away for European	Work away for European
His wife	0	Away with husband	Away with husband	Away with husband	16-mile walk	16-mile walk (visiting)	Piling branches, 5 hours	Leisure
Pamodo	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	16-mile walk	16-mile walk (visiting)	Work away for European	Work away for European
His wife	0	Away with husband	Away with husband	Away with husband	16-mile walk	16-mile walk (visiting)	No garden work	6-mile walk
Findo	d	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure .	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	0	12-mile walk to Chief's village	Away doing Chief's labour	Away doing Chief's labour	12-mile walk	Leisure	8-mile walk	In village
Velem	d	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	0	12-mile walk to Chief's village	Away doing Chief's labour	Away doing Chief's labour	12-mile walk	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	Piling branches, 5 hours
Japeto	d	Employed by anthropologist (cook-boy)	Employed by anthropologist (cook-boy)	Employed by anthropologist (cook-boy)	Employed by anthropologist (cook-boy)	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
Nodi	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
His wife	0	12-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	12-mile walk home	Leisure	No garden work	6-mile walk (on visit)
Dickenson	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	Leisure	Work away for European	Work away for European
His wife	0	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Leisure	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)
Kapitolo	d	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	16-mile walk home	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
His wife	0	12-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	12-mile walk home	Leisure	No garden work	No garden work
Mulenga	d	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
His wife	0	12-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	12-mile walk home	Visiting/smoking house	No garden work	Piling branches, 5 hours
Wankie	d	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
His wife	0	6-mile walk	No garden work	No garden work	Piling branches, 5 hours	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	Piling branches, 5 hours
Dickenson	d	Away at work for European	Away at work for European	Away at work for European	Away at work for European	Leisure	Away at work for European	Away at work for European
His wife	0	12-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	12-mile walk home	Leisure	6-mile walk	In village
Nonsia	d	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours?
His wife	0	12-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	12-mile walk home	Leisure	Piling branches, 5 hours	Piling branches, 5 hours
Gideon	d	Hunting	Hunting	Hunting	Visiting	Leisure	Hunting	Hunting
His wife	0	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	Baby born.	Rowing after childbirth
Nacango	0	12-mile walk to Chief's court	Tribute labour for Chief	Tribute labour for Chief	12-mile walk home	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work

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TABLE I

Work Diaries Kept in Two Villages for Short Periods

N.B. 'Leisure' means a day spent in sitting, talking, drinking, or doing handicrafts. It has not usually been used for women, since they have much domestic work even on their idlest days. 'No garden work' therefore seems a more appropriate term to use.
Unless otherwise mentioned 'walks' means visits to relatives.
The times given are only approximate.

1. WORK DIARY, KASAKA VILLAGE, SEPT. 13TH–OCT. 5TH, 1933

[Two ...	20th (Wed.)	21st (Thurs.)	22nd (Fri.)	23rd (Sat.)	24th (Sun.)	25th (Mon.)	26th (Tues.)	27th (Wed.)
...ning, 6	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Digging, 3 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
...den work	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Leisure	Filing branches, 3 hours	Filing branches, 4 hours
...ning, 3	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours
...den work	No garden work	Filing branches	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
...ning, 6	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	10-mile walk (Selling)	Digging, 3 hours	Leisure	Leisure	30-mile walk	10-mile walk (Dancing, 3 hours
...den work	No garden work	Filing branches, 3 hours	10-mile walk (Selling)	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure	Hoeing, 2 hours	No garden work	Hoeing
...ning, 3	Tree-cutting, 4 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 4 hours	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 4 hours
...den work	Filing branches, 3 hours	Filing branches, 3 hours	Filing branches, 4 hours	Filing branches, 4 hours	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
...ning, 6	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Tree-cutting, 5 hours	Tree-cutting, 4 hours	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 5 hours
...g	No garden work	Filing branches, 6 hours	Filing branches, 4 hours	No garden work	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
...e walk	10-mile walk	Leisure	10-mile walk	Away	Leisure	Away	Away	Away
...e walk	10-mile walk	In village	In village	In village	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	10-mile walk to carrier
...away for pass	Work away for European	Work away for European	Work away for European	Home	Leisure	Away at work for European	Away at work for European	Away at work for European
...	Filing branches, 3 hours	Filing branches, 3 hours	Filing branches, 4½ hours	No garden work	Leisure	Away with husband	Away with husband	Away with husband
...away for pass walk	Work away for European No garden work	Work away for European 8-mile walk (Selling)	Work away for European No garden work	Home No garden work	Leisure Leisure	Away at work for European Away with husband	Away at work for European Away with husband	Away at work for European 10-mile walk (to carrier for European)
...ning, 6	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	10-mile walk	20-mile walk (Selling)	10-mile walk	Leisure	Leisure	Handiwork	Tree-cutting, 6 hours
...ages	Filing branches, 3 hours	In village	6-mile walk (Selling)	Filing branches, 4 hours	Leisure	No garden work	No garden work	10-mile walk (to carrier for European)
...ning, 6	In village	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	10-mile walk (Selling)	20-mile walk	Leisure	Leisure	6-mile walk	Away
...branches, ...rs	Filing branches, 3 hours	Filing branches, 4 hours	10-mile walk (Selling)	Filing branches, 6 hours	Leisure	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work
...	Leisure	Hunting	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Hunting	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
...	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Away working for European	Away working for European	Away working for European
...walk (sic)	Away	Away	Away	Away	Leisure	Away with husband	Away with husband	Away with husband
...away for pass ...ved by ...ropologist ...nic work)	Work away for European Employed by anthropologist (domestic work)	Work away for European 10-mile walk (visiting)	Work away for European 20-mile walk (carrier for Europeans)	Work away for European 10-mile walk (visiting)	Leisure Leisure	Away working for European No garden work	Away working for European No garden work	Away working for European 10-mile walk (carrier for Europeans)
...	Digging 2 hours	Leisure	10-mile walk (Selling)	Leisure	Leisure	10-mile walk	Away working for European	Away working for European
...den work	No garden work	No garden work	10-mile walk (Selling)	No garden work	Leisure	No garden work	Away	Away
...ning, 3	Tree-cutting, 3 hours	10-mile walk	10-mile walk	Handiwork	Leisure	Leisure	Handiwork	Handiwork
...branches, ...rs	Filing branches, 3 hours	10-mile walk	No garden work	Filing branches, 3 hours	Leisure	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work
...	Tree-cutting, 3 hours	Tree-cutting, 4 hours	Tree-cutting, 2½ hours	Tree-cutting, 3 hours	Leisure	Leisure	10-mile walk	Away
...branches, ...rs	Filing branches, 4 hours	No garden work	Filing branches, 3 hours	No garden work	Leisure	Digging 3 hours	No garden work	No garden work
...at work ...ropean ...ge	Away at work for European In village	Away at work for European 30-mile walk	Away at work for European 10-mile walk	10-mile walk home 10-mile walk	Leisure Leisure	Leisure No garden work	Leisure 8-mile walk	Leisure 10-mile walk (funeral)
...ning, 3	House-building, 4 hours	10-mile walk	10-mile walk	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure	Leisure
...branches, ...rs	Filing branches, 4 hours	Filing branches, 3 hours	6-mile walk	Filing branches, 4 hours	Leisure	Filing branches, 4 hours	No garden work	10-mile walk
...ld ...e after ...birth	House-building Resting after childbirth	Hunting Resting after childbirth	Hunting Resting after childbirth	Hunting Resting after childbirth	Leisure Leisure	Hunting Seclusion after childbirth	18-mile walk Seclusion after childbirth	In village Seclusion after childbirth
...den work	No garden work	No garden work	10-mile walk	10-mile walk	Leisure	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work

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[illegible] cutting, 6 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Hunting	Tree-cutting	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Tree-cutting	Burning of grass	
[illegible] branches, [illegible] hours	Piling branches, 6 hours	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Hoeing, 3 hours	In village	
[illegible] cutting, 3 [illegible]	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Hunting, 6[illegible]	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Tree-cutting, 3[illegible] hours	Tree-cutting, 3 hours	
[illegible]	Leisure	Leisure	Piling branches, 6 hours	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	No garden work	No garden work	
[illegible] walk 16-mile, 3 hours	Tree-cutting, 3 hours	Hunting, 6[illegible] hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	
Hoeing	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Hoeing	Hoeing	
Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Hunting, 6[illegible] hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Leisure	Leisure	
Leisure	Piling branches, 3 hours	No garden work	Piling branches, 3 hours	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	No garden work	Piling branches, 6 hours	
Tree-cutting, 3 hours	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Hunting, 6[illegible] hours	Tree-cutting, 3 hours	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Leisure	16-mile walk	
Leisure	Piling branches, 6 hours	Piling branches, 3 hours	No garden work	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Piling branches, 3 hours	Piling branches, 6 hours	
Away	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Hunting, 6[illegible] hours	Leisure	Leisure	Away	Away	Away	Away	
16-mile walk to carrier	16-mile walk to carrier	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	No garden work	No garden work	
Away at work for European	Away at work for European	Away at work for European	16-mile walk home	16-mile walk (visiting) 16-mile walk (visiting)	Away at work for European	Away at work for European 16-mile walk (visiting)	Away at work for European 16-mile walk (carrying for European)	Away at work for European Piling branches, 6 hours	
Away with husband	Away with husband	Away with husband	16-mile walk home						
Away at work for European 16-mile walk (to carrier for European)	Away at work for European No garden work	Away at work for European No garden work	16-mile walk home No garden work	16-mile walk (visiting) 16-mile walk (visiting)	Away at work for European Away with husband	Away at work for European Away with husband	Away at work for European Away with husband	Away at work for European Away with husband	
Tree-cutting, 6 hours 16-mile walk (to carrier for European)	Tree-cutting, 6 hours Piling branches, 6 hours	Hunting, 6[illegible] hours No garden work	Leisure No garden work	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Tree-cutting, 6 hours Hoeing, 6 hours	Fishing (6 miles) Fishing (6 miles)	
Away	In village	Hunting, 6[illegible] hours	In village	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Carries (6 father) 16 miles	16-mile walk home	
No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Piling branches, 3 hours	No garden work	
Leisure	Hunting, 6 hours	Hunting, 3[illegible] hours	Leisure	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Leisure	Hunting, 6 hours	
Away working for European	Away working for European	Away working for European	16-mile walk home	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Tree-cutting, 6 hours; 16-mile walk	Tree-cutting, 3 hours	
Away with husband	Away with husband	Away with husband	16-mile walk home	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Digging, 6 hours	Leisure	
Away working for European 16-mile walk (carrier for European)	Away working for European 16-mile walk	Away working for European Piling branches, 3 hours	16-mile walk home Whitewashing house, 3 hours	Leisure	16-mile walk Beer-drink	Away working for European Beer-drink	Away working for European No garden work	Away working for European No garden work	
Away working for European Away	Away working for European 16-mile walk home	Away working for European No garden work	16-mile walk home Whitewashing house, 3 hours	Leisure Leisure	Beer-drink Beer-drink	Beer-drink Beer-drink	16-mile walk No garden work	Away at work No garden work	
Handiwork No garden work	Tree-cutting, 3 hours Piling branches, 3 hours	Hunting (communal), 3[illegible] hrs. No garden work	Leisure No garden work	Leisure Leisure	Beer-drink Beer-drink	Beer-drink Beer-drink	Leisure Hoeing	Fishing (8-mile walk) Fishing (6-mile walk)	
Away	Away	Away	16-mile walk	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Leisure	Leisure	
No garden work	Piling branches, 6[illegible] hours	Piling branches, 3 hours	No garden work	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Digging, 3 hours	Fishing (8 miles)	
Leisure	Hunting	Leisure	16-mile walk	16-mile walk home	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Leisure	Hunting	
16-mile walk (loaded)	16-mile walk back	No garden work	Whitewashing house, 3 hours	16-mile walk home	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	No garden work	No garden work	
Leisure	Tree-cutting, 6 hours	Hunting, 3[illegible] hours	Leisure	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	Leisure	Tree-cutting, 3[illegible] hours	
20-mile walk	Piling branches, 6 hours	No garden work	Piling branches, 6 hours	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	16-mile walk	16-mile walk	
In village Seclusion after childbirth	Hunting (game) Seclusion after childbirth	Hunting Seclusion after childbirth	In village Seclusion after childbirth	Leisure Seclusion after childbirth	Hunting Beer-drink	Hunting Beer-drink	Hunting No garden work	Hunting No garden work	
No garden work	Piling branches, 3 hours	No garden work	No garden work	Leisure	Beer-drink	Beer-drink	No garden work	No garden work	

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IIa. WORK DIARY, KAMPAMBA VILL.

Name		Jan. 4th (Wed.)	5th (Thurs.)	6th (Fri.)	7th (Sat.)	8th (Sun.)
Kampamba	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Chasing locusts, 5 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	12-mile walk
His wife (1)	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours	Visiting
His wife (2)	♀	..	..	..	No garden work	Leisure
Mwadi	♂	In village	In village	Making fence, 6 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife (1)	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours	Leisure
Pahmani	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	In village	Chasing locusts, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Gathering mushrooms, 4 hours	In village
Luppolito	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	12-mile walk	Visiting (12-mile walk)	Ill	Ill
His wife	♀	..	..	..	No garden work	Leisure
ShiMutale Ngini	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	In village	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles
His wife	♀	..	..	..	No garden work	Sowing, 2 hours
Fungo Fungo	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Making fence, 6 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Gathering mushrooms, 3 hours	Sowing, 2 hours
Cikondo Cyprian	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Ill	Visiting
Kayula Shikulu Mpundu	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Chasing locusts, 5 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Chasing locusts, 5 hours	Leisure
Josiah	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	6-mile walk	Sowing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Chasing locusts, 5 hours	Leisure
ShiMpundu Mwaba	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Chasing locusts, 8 hours	In village	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours	Leisure
Davidi	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Tree-cutting, 4 hours	Visiting (12-mile walk)	Visiting	Visiting
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure
ShiMpundu Kalema	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	In village	Making fences, 4 hours	Visiting (10-mile walk)	Visiting
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 4 hours	Firewood, 2 hours
Paulo Shi-Mpundu	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Light hoeing, 7 hours	6-mile walk	Hunting, 6 hours	In village
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours
Donati	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Visiting (8-mile walk)	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	..	Hoeing, 3 hours
Coma Pigenti	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Visiting (8-mile walk)	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure
Shikulu Mwaba	♂	Hunting, 8 hours	Chasing locusts, 5 hours	Leisure	Hunting, 6 hours	Leisure
His wife	♀	..	..	..	No garden work	Leisure

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...MBA VILLAGE, JAN. 4TH–13TH 1934

5th (Sun.)	6th (Mon.)	10th (Tues.)	11th (Wed.)	12th (Thurs.)	13th (Fri.)
...-mile walk	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Visiting (12-mile walk)
...iting	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	No garden work
Leisure	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work	No garden work	Visiting away	..
Leisure	Making fence, 6 hours	Making fence, 6 hours	Making fence, 5 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Sowing, 3 hours
Leisure	18 miles to buy food	18 miles back	Gathering mush-rooms, 5 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 5 hours	No garden work
Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sowing, 4 hours	Light hoeing, 2 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours
In village	Hoeing, 5 hours	Sowing, 4 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours
Ill	Hoeing, 6 hours	Hoeing, 5 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Sowing, 3 hours
Leisure	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	No garden work	Gathering mush-rooms, 3 hours	..
Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles	8-mile walk	Hoeing, 3 hours	Light hoeing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours
Sowing, 2 hours	18-mile walk to buy food	18 miles back	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 3 hours	..
Leisure	Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 5 hours	Hunting, 6 hours	Light hoeing, 5 hours
Sowing, 2 hours	No garden work	No garden work	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work	..
Carrying Chief's sick brother 10 miles	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
Visiting	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	No garden work	..
Leisure	Thatching, 4 hours	16-mile walk	In village	Hunting, 6½ hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
Leisure	Visiting	Chasing locusts, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	..
Leisure	Hoeing, 2 hours	Chasing locusts, 5 hours	Chasing locusts, 5 hours	Hunting, 6½ hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
Leisure	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	Hoeing, 5 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 5 hours	..
Leisure	Sowing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	8-mile walk	Hunting, 6 hours	Cutting grass, 3 hours
Leisure	Away visiting	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Visiting	..
Visiting	Visiting	House-building, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours
Leisure	Sowing, 2 hours	No garden work	Hoeing, 4 hours	No garden work	..
Visiting	Ill	Ill	Ill	House-building, 3 hours	Light hoeing, 4 hours
Firewood, 2 hours	Sowing, 2 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	Visiting	No garden work	..
In village	Sowing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 5 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	House-building, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
Hoeing, 3 hours	Visiting	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	..
Leisure	Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	In village	Ill	Hoeing, 2 hours
Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	No garden work	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work	No garden work
Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing 5 hours,	Sowing, 5 hours	House-building, 5 hours
Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	..
Leisure	Leisure	Sowing, 3 hours	Sowing, 4 hours	Hunting, 6	Hoeing, 3 hours
Leisure	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work	..

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IIb. WORK DIARY (SINGLE WOMEN), KAMPAMBA VILLLAGE, JAN. 7TH-13TH, 1934

Name	Jan. 7th (Sun.)	8th (Mon.)	9th (Mon.)	10th (Tues.)	11th (Wed.)	12th (Thurs.)
Nalube Kampi	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure	Gathering mush-rooms, 3 hours	In village	Gathering mush-rooms, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours
Nakulu Musonde	Sowing, 4 hours	Making fanes, 6 hours	Making fanes, 6 hours	Making fanes, 6 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Fetching logs, 3 hours
Nakulu Honore Mwaba	Hoeing, 3 hours	5-mile walk	Sowing, 3 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 3 hours	No garden work	Hoeing, 4 hours
NaMusonde	Hoeing, 3 hours	Leisure	Making fanes, 6 hours	Making fanes, 6 hours	Sowing, 6 hours	Sowing, 6 hours
NaCewe Johanni	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 3 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	Chasing locusts, 3 hours
NaMukasa Malalo	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	Leisure	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work
NaMwamba Kamsonwe	Hoeing, 4 hours	Leisure	Sowing, 6 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	No garden work
Nakulu Canda	Chasing locusts, 4 hours	Fetching fire-wood, 6 hours	Chasing locusts, 6 hours	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Chasing locusts, 6 hours
NaCisanga Kampamba	Sowing, 4 hours	Fetching fire-wood, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work
NaBwalya Sagani	No garden work	Sowing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours
Nakulu Kalo	No garden work	Hoeing, 6 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	Sowing, 6 hours	No garden work	No garden work
NaHonore / NaMwaba /	No garden work	Hoeing, 6 hours	No garden work	House-building, 6 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work
Nakulu Cilushye	No garden work	Hoeing, 3 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	Hoeing, 3 hours	No garden work	Chasing locusts, 4 hours
NaMwaba Honori	No garden work	Leisure	No garden work	Hoeing, 4 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work
Nsama	No garden work	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work	No garden work	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work
NaKapamba	Hoeing, 3 hours	Visiting (6-mile walk)	Hoeing, 4 hours	Hoeing, 4 hours	Chasing locusts, 3 hours	No garden work
Nakulu Honori	Hoeing, 3 hours	Visiting (6-mile walk)	Hoeing, 3 hours	Gathering mush-rooms, 3 hours	Hoeing, 6 hours	No garden work
NaMwansa Tanafo	No garden work	Leisure	Sowing, 3 hours	Visiting (10-mile walk)	Away	Not back
NaNafa Tolonesi	Hoeing, 4 hours	Sowing, 3 hours	No garden work	No garden work	Gathering mush-rooms, 4 hours	No garden work
NaMwansa Brownie	No garden work	Hoeing, 4 hours	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work	No garden work

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